842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, jutireli, while "father" is yainko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ʃikiʃikiʃi, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds yinikuʃiʃu (a1), iekejakatige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ainʃore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninʃore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: yetnedige, b1; from yette, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyaade takenaade tamindige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[834] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

nights" kanaro etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (tourirri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, undoubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome: the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to love can be summed up in their formula tamindige mondage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament. In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

756 by singing calls his *ondoro*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *ondoro* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *ondoro* if he will do his bidding. If the *ondoro* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the sha-
755 man's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *ondoro* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *ondoro* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*opidnadire*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *opidnadire* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry
[755] and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the
533 dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Wakitieu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he learns the song of an *ondoro*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *opidnadire*. Shamans practice
● [534 continence before important rites, for if the
754] *ondoro* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They know herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous enemy, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 The Nambicuara recognize sexual intercourse (wintedulive) as the cause of pregnancy (halelive). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in 756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would 833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their enemies there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Wakitásu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose. Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. Childless marriages are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitásulu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,